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## The detective who did his best

AMONG those taking part in the coast to coast march organised by the Sheffield Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was a detective.

According to The Guardian report on Monday "There was also a detective who claimed he was attending the demonstration 'just to see them safely through,' but who, nevertheless, when he was not savaging his fingernails and looking hard at late arrivals, noted the name of each speaker on the back of a football programme."

Forty people set off from Liverpool on Boxing Day on the first stage of the march. On Sunday when the march left St. Helens the numbers had increased to 50, and by Monday when it left Bolton there were 100 people marching.

Both at Wigan and at Bury the marchers were greeted by local councillors, members of the local CND groups and representatives of political parties and the local churches.

**Eighteen young people from London joined the march at Bolton, having travelled overnight to get there.**

The leader of the group, Mischa Goldman, said he was marching "to preserve peace. I am a comfort-loving fellow. I would rather sit at home than do this, but without peace and with the possibility of war with nuclear weapons, there will be no homes in which to sit."

# DIRECT ACTION AT HARRINGTON

## AN EDITORIAL

**THE** protests about the imprisonment of six members of the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War have been welcome. There is obviously a considerable minority of people in this country (including some of the larger circulation newspapers) who are concerned about the use of a vague law for political purposes.

Unfortunately several of these protests have been based on a false premise. It has been assumed that the demonstration at the Harrington rocket base was to be lawful. The Direct Action Committee has always made it quite clear in all its propaganda that the demonstration, so far as the existing laws of Britain are concerned, would be illegal.

The illegal actions envisaged by the Committee were:

1. Trespass on Air Ministry property.
2. An attempt to enter the missile base, climbing the security fence if no other entry was possible (the idea of climbing the fence has now been abandoned).

The Committee hoped to make a serious challenge to the State authorities by taking these actions. What, in effect, it was saying was—"Faced with the total immorality of nuclear weapons it is no longer possible to accept the compromises that democracy demands. No matter how many people support the manufacture of nuclear weapons, we are completely unable to accept them. Not to protest would put us in the same position as those Germans who opposed the concentration camps but did nothing about them."

## concern and action

The Harrington demonstrators will not only be concerned with stating their own positions. By taking radical action of this kind they hope they will have some effect on other people—if only to make them ask questions about their motives. But if people ask questions, it is important that they ask the right questions and that implicit in the protest should be some



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The march ends when it reaches Hull on Sunday.

## WINTER VIGIL AT GERM WARFARE CENTRE

**THE** vigil at Fort Detrick, the Maryland germ warfare centre employing 2,000 workers, is to continue indefinitely.

This was decided by the Vigil Committee on December 12. The vigil has lasted unbroken from dawn to dusk since July 1. The decision to continue will now be reviewed every month.

"Suffering and death for millions of men, women and children continues to be prepared at Fort Detrick," says the latest newsletter of the Committee. "The citizens of the United States have not been sufficiently informed of what is being done in their name. . . The need for the Appeal and Vigil is as great as ever. . . As long as there is a strong Vigil at Fort Detrick there is a rallying point for opposition."

Today (Friday) has been named Rededication Day and 100 or more former vigillars are expected to return.

A conference on constructive alternatives to chemical and biological warfare preparation is planned for February 20-21.

The Vigil was initiated by the Middle Atlantic Region of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and is managed by an ad hoc committee. The address is: 324 West Patrick Street, Frederick, Maryland.



**Peace News wishes all readers a happy New Year.**

Brize Norton march. Photo: Austin Underwood.

## Tomorrow's plans

**THE** Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament are encouraging everyone possible to get to Rothwell, Northants, tomorrow (Saturday).

Direct Action will hold a meeting in the market place there at 1.30 p.m. at which speakers will make clear the Committee's opposition to rocket bases and nuclear weapons and its belief in civil disobedience.

Speakers from the national CND have been invited to address the rally.

At 2.0 p.m. the Direct Action contingent will move off to the rocket base four miles away at Harrington, where it will attempt to enter the disused aerodrome surrounding the base and establish a camp.

The CND contingent will march from the market place about 20 minutes behind the DAC contingent. A motorcade will also follow. They will pass Harrington rocket base and continue to Lampport,

from where London-bound coaches will leave at 5.30 p.m.

Cars are asked to report to Rothwell market place at 11.0 a.m. (not 1.00 p.m., as previously asked) in order to travel round the area with leaflets and posters.

Today (Friday) a West of England CND and DAC convoy of cars is leaving Salisbury (Guildhall Square) at 1.00 p.m. and will follow this route: Newbury (Market Place) 2.30; Oxford (Martyrs' Memorial) 3.45; and Wellingborough 5.30 p.m. Meetings will be held at each stopping place.

Tomorrow (Saturday) the CND's London coaches, leaving Midland Road, St. Pancras, at 9.0 a.m., are only available for those who have booked seats.

A few seats may be available in transport leaving Hampstead at 9.15 a.m. Enquiries should be made today (Friday) to John and Margery Brunner (SWISS Cottage 3342).

Any volunteers taking part in civil disobedience who have not yet arranged transport should phone the Direct Action Committee (STAmford Hill 7062).

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For these reasons the question of non-violence is central to the Harrington demonstration (in this connection we commend Alex Comfort's letter on page five). The demonstration will only have a worthwhile effect if people act out of love, since this is the only spirit which is totally opposed to the hatred which manifests itself in H-bombs and H-missiles. Once we accept this, non-violence is the only possible spirit in which to demonstrate.

## love and hatred

Love and hatred are, of course, not fashionable terms. They are normally dismissed as evidence of great sentimentality. There are, however, encouraging signs that both in social work and in psychology these words are being taken completely seriously (see Philip Seed's article in PN Oct. 9 and Erich Fromm's book "The Art of Loving"). One of the most important tasks for all those concerned with the development of non-violent action in the future is to see that the theory supporting it is intellectually sound.

The success of the Harrington demonstration will in the end depend on the number of people who support it. The government has already accepted the serious nature of the challenge by imprisoning the leaders of the demonstration. Tomorrow will be our opportunity to show it just how serious we are.

## Chessman to die

**The execution date has been set for the eighth time for Caryl Chessman, the American who has spent over 11 years in a death cell. On December 21 a Superior Court judge set February 19 as the day.**

# RUSSIA: TOWARDS A NEW VISION

*Frank Lees reviews*

**Khrushchev's Russia** by Edward Crankshaw. Penguin Books, 2s. 6d.

**MR. CRANKSHAW'S** weekly article on Russia in *The Observer* is for many of us a principal source of information on that country. He has now written a book in keeping with the high standard of his articles.

The theme of the book is familiar to any student of Russia. It is a *leitmotif* of War and Peace. Napoleon's army was not beaten by a brilliant individual, but by the forces of history. Contemporary Russia is changing, but not simply at the behest of Khrushchev. The forces of national evolution are neither created nor stayed by a single man.

Nevertheless, Khrushchev gets his share of attention. His early political life was spent working for the party in the provinces. During the purge years everyone kept quiet—except Khrushchev, who went on talking. Yet he survived, probably because he was always ready to crawl to Stalin.

In these early years Khrushchev became an expert in agriculture. We tend to think of Russia as an industrial power, which she is. But the country is still half agricultural. Moreover, where industry has been astonishingly successful, agriculture has remained backward. And there is nothing to compare with Russian backwardness. Until two years ago it was common throughout Russia to milk cows five times a day in order to obtain as many last drops of milk as possible, because the last drops were thought to have some special property. Much of Khrushchev's standing derives from his successful handling of agricultural problems.

This underlines another of Mr. Crank-

shaw's points. It is important to try to see the Russians as they see themselves. We think at once of the Russian foreign policy, the Russian thinks first of what is going on in his country. How often we have heard the argument that Russia obviously desires peace, because it is doing so much reconstruction. Moscow bristles with cranes. It may be a logical nonsequitur, but it is not a psychological one.

There is much else we too easily forget. It is necessary constantly to recall what Russia has been through and to try to see the consequences. The ruling classes are corrupt. How could it be otherwise where the best died in the Revolution, the purges or the war, leaving the time-servers, the dodgers and the sycophants. And on top of it all a system where you had to indulge in the universal black market to live.

Now Khrushchev is in power he is pushing through reforms many of which are undoubtedly good. It is impossible reading the book to dismiss these reforms as merely designed to make the power state work more smoothly. Khrushchev really seems to have some vision of the good society. And, as a Russian, he is anxious that it should be Russia which achieves it first.

Perhaps this is not so surprising. There was idealism in Hitler and Stalin, as the biography of their early days shows. But the idealist soon comes to believe that he

alone can achieve his ideal and to be prepared to use all means to get power and keep it. Khrushchev has shown himself utterly ruthless, both in Hungary and in Russia itself.

A particularly valuable part of the book is the tracing of the various phases through which Russian politics have passed since Stalin's death. These are illustrated by the manoeuvres of the men at the top.

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Things are undoubtedly changing. Normally it is just at this stage, when things are bad, but the first improvements are beginning, that revolutions occur. But revolutions also happen under weak government and the government of the Soviet Union is not that. There is a shift of power: Khrushchev is not an absolute autocrat like Stalin, new classes are making their influence felt. But it goes no further than that.

The thaw is illustrated by the varying fortunes of the writers. There is a fascinating account of the Pasternak affair. Mr. Crankshaw quotes in full a letter



**Mr. Khrushchev**

written to Pasternak by the editorial board of *Novi Mir*, including Fedin and Simonov. To anyone familiar with the jackal snarls such disputes usually call forth this is refreshingly mild. It is also very Russian. But, as Mr. Crankshaw says, it also betrays an alarming thought barrier.

"There is silence over Russia, but not the silence of sleep. The rays of truth are shining in her eyes and she is thinking, thinking."

## Unrepentant individualism

**Brief Voices**—A Writer's Story, by Ethel Mannin. Hutchinson, 21s.

**READING** this, the third instalment of her autobiography, it is easy to understand Ethel Mannin's appeal to the young and to women leading very dull lives. She has shed little of her youthful iconoclasm. Her opinions will hardly sound trite to the clientele of the circulating libraries; whilst she herself, free (as only a successful novelist can be) to travel far and wide, converse with celebrities, disregard conventions and cock a snook at authority, has had the very career they all dream of. In these pages they may learn just how and where each one of her books was conceived, and at the same time participate vicariously in a life full of Colour, Variety and

ment of voluntary co-operation. Indeed, I should not imagine that co-operation is her forte. And since it is only when we are working for something that we begin to see how often it has been worked for in the past, to discriminate between the intention and the abuse of existing institutions, and between one institution and another, it is no surprise to find that, for her, all authorities are still just Authority—invariably stupid and usually wicked as well. Thus she can see nothing to choose between military occupation by a totalitarian and a democratic power—a point on which Austrians could enlighten her.

Still, in an increasingly stream-lined society, even unrepentant individualism may be accounted a virtue; and although Miss Mannin's style leaves something to be desired, she recounts her adventures briskly and readably. There is good reason to think that "Brief Voices" will be quite as popular as its predecessors.

# Send for this

Worry and upsets between husbands and wives are so frequently caused because the couple lack knowledge of modern family planning. This useful book deals frankly with many of the questions which too often have to go unanswered. Written in an understanding and straightforward way, 'Planned Families are Happy Families' can help to resolve one of the commonest

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Unfortunately, what is an asset to an authoress may be a liability to an idealogue—and Miss Mannin has ideas on most things, from Israel to Albert Schweitzer. At present she is an anarchist and pacifist, with Irish-Catholic and Burmese-Buddhist leanings. "But," she states, "I prefer to keep as clear of religious and philosophical groupings as of political ones:

"Thus in anarchism I find myself unable to go all the way with Bakunin because of his belief in the use of revolutionary violence as a means to an end; nor all the way with Tolstoy, whose anarchism was pacifist, because he was a Christian and I am not . . . In the Independent Labour Party I was found insufficiently Marxist and too essentially pacifist; but in pacifist circles I am not at home, being too essentially revolutionary, with an inordinate inability to love my fellow-man . . ."

Evidently we are not meant to take the last clause too seriously: so many of Miss Mannin's anecdotes illustrate her kindness to criminals and popularity with peasants. But why not have written, "I sympathise with Bakunin's revolt and Tolstoy's non-violence, ILP radicalism and PPU idealism, etc.?" The passage is more typical of anarchists than she herself probably realises. She is so much more preoccupied with what she is *against* than what she is *for*.

She is, for example, against competition and compulsion. Yet nowhere can I find any record of her having tried the experi-

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F. A. L.

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METROPOLITAN BOARD FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS has maintained Free Consultation Service since 1940. Telephone MAIn 5-1195 for appointment. Or, write: 80 Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, 1, N.Y.

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*All applications are strictly confidential.*

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**TRIBUNE**

By Sybil Morrison

## ONE CLEAR CALL

If the trumpets give an uncertain sound who shall prepare himself for battle?—I Corinthians XIV, 8.

THE year 1960 may be the year in which the leaders of the nations talk together on the major differences of policy that exist between them. The over-riding question of disarmament will be basic to all the discussions, and Khrushchev's proposals for total disarmament in four years may also be under review.

The possibility of real approaches, rather than platform propaganda, to the conception of total disarmament is, naturally, exciting to pacifists who have for so long advocated it, but the truth is that until there is a public opinion which would recognise war as immoral, and therefore find disarmament acceptable and necessary, it is mere "wishful thinking" to hope for the materialisation of pacifist beliefs at this moment.

Armaments of any kind, nuclear or "conventional," are the consequences of centuries of reliance upon the war method. It is possible that some agreement to reduce armaments could be the outcome of the United Nations new Commission, or the Summit talks, but total disarmament and all that it involves, would require a climate of public opinion that no Government, probably not even that of the USSR, has attempted to engender among its peoples.

It is well known that very few reforms have been achieved in advance of public opinion, and as public opinion is usually controlled by the propaganda put out by Governments, the circle is complete, and it is vicious. The basis for discussions rests entirely, at any level, on expediency, and it is only when the question to be resolved is a moral one that there is any real hope of a permanent pacifist solution.

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# People and places

## HEROES OF WALL STREET

ONE New Year's resolution that I'll not find hard to keep is to look in the dustbins outside disarmament conferences.

The dirt there is so much more revealing than the phoney press hand-overs.

You will remember that early last August the value of stock on Wall Street fell by £2,000,000,000 in the gloom and alarm brought about by the Eisenhower-Khrushchev exchange of visits.

Someone pointed out at the time that this £2,000,000,000 was not the price of peace—it was the price of a faint hope of peace.

Now a book has been published in the States revealing a sensational wartime plot by wealthy industrialists.



F.D.R., President

These gentlemen planned to kidnap President Roosevelt in order to prevent him interfering with their chances of making big profits during World War II.

The book is the autobiography of Cornelius Vanderbilt, who reported the plot to the President and the FBI. The kidnapping, incidentally, was abandoned after Mr. Vanderbilt was allowed to tip off the industrialists that

their plans were known.

The author explains the plot: "The idea was to impose a firm restraint, for the good of the country; to hold this dictator, this madman—well cared-for of course; well treated, but well guarded—while sane persons set up emergency controls and saved America."

Truly patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels.

What are the custodians of the nation doing about all these would-be saviours? Said the FBI the day the book was published: "No comment."

### Born 1842

WALTER WILLIAMS, who was reputed to be the last veteran of the American Civil War, died at Houston, Texas, on December 19.

He was thought to have been 117 (!), and served in the Confederate Army. His function, apparently, was to steal food for the troops, so in professional Army language he was a forager.

President Eisenhower was informed of his death and proclaimed a day of national mourning in accordance with a Congressional resolution.

Is this all ballyhoo? What is the value of these sort of historical observations like remembering the Civil War or the annual search for gunpowder in the cellars of the House of Commons in London?

Of course, these procedures can easily degenerate into occasions for national pageantry or patriotic thoughtlessness—as with Armistice Day observations. But I still think that a greater historical awareness would make our world a lot saner and help us to put things in perspective.

Listening to most of our politicians, you'd never think they'd heard of anything before the Cold War started. I'm not surprised that most of them don't appear to understand, for example, emergent African nationalism, or the incredible increase in the destructive power of armaments or why Marxism is obsolete.

It is only when we realise that people are still alive today who were born during the American Civil War that we can appreciate the ever-increasing rapidity of change in the modern world.

—Phyz

PEACE NEWS, January 1, 1960—3

## THE WEEKS AHEAD

IT has been difficult for both myself and Allen Skinner to separate ourselves from our work for Peace News.

But with others in or out of jail we want to make our protest against the erection of missile bases in Britain; for me they are the British equivalent of Hitler's gas chambers—the means whereby at the word of command tens of thousands of lives can be destroyed.

Our departure inevitably weakens the resources available in Peace News offices and throws a heavy strain on those who are left.

May I therefore appeal to every reader in the weeks ahead to take up part of our work for Peace News. Can you gain a new reader, or buy an extra copy?

I hear that there is a heartening response to Michael Scott's appeal for funds for PN that every reader received with our Christmas number on December 18.

Michael Scott, one of our Directors, is at present in Africa leading the international team challenging French nuclear tests. He will be greatly encouraged if you can send us a contribution.

We're keeping our books open until January 31—will you please give us a good send off for 1960?

HUGH BROCK.

Contributions since December 18: £149 0s. 1d.

Total since February 1, 1959: £1,195 16s. 4d.

Still needed: £1,304.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: £2, 10s., £1 15s.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

## Briefly

Toldas, a group working for total unilateral disarmament, have issued a revised edition of their policy statement in pamphlet form (3d, from 16 Harlech Road, Liverpool 23). Membership numbers 700 and includes two MPs, Frank Allaun and George Craddock. Chairman is Prof. Charles A. Coulson.



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It is impossible to imagine any of the present leaders, either Government or Opposition, in Britain, being prepared to reduce, control, or abolish armaments on moral grounds, and it is only the absolute conviction of their immorality which can ever make disarmament permanent and sure.

It may seem a slow business to try to persuade people, against all the power and the punch of modern propaganda methods, that the way to peace lies through the recognition of the immorality of war, and not through a piecemeal attempt to reduce or abolish armaments on grounds of expediency or fear, but it is, nevertheless, the only certain way.

Time and energy has been expended, and is still expended, on attacking and trying to alleviate the consequences of reliance upon war; these efforts may be in some degree effective in bringing the whole question more to the forefront of public imagination, but mass protestation, like mass destruction, has an effect of reducing in some way, individual responsibility; importuning Governments to proceed in ways for which peoples are not ready is unlikely to be successful.

The question of how to make people ready receives many different answers, and that diversity is perhaps largely responsible for the lack of concentrated attempt to persuade ordinary people that disarmament will come when the conception of war has been abandoned and not the other way round.

So long as there is uncertainty as to the course that should be pursued strength is likely to be dispersed and scattered. Perhaps the one clear call to individual responsibility has not been heard because the trumpeters have not been sure enough.

It is time then, in this new year, to be sure that the key note is single and pure, so that the trumpets of peace are tuned to ring clear and true, calling all to the battle to abolish war.



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# THE CHILDREN WHO ESCAPED TO LIFE

By Anne Morris

IN England today there are approximately one hundred and fifteen children who have made an almost miraculous escape from a living death, to life in its fullest sense.

They are the children of some of the people who exist in the Displaced Persons' Camps of Western Germany. "Exist" rather than live, because their circumstances are so far from normal as to be depressing in the deepest degree. They are supplied with food, lodging, coal and light by the State, but—and I quote from the letter of a young girl, describing her "home" conditions to a penfriend in Britain—"don't ask what the food, room, etc, is like.

"It is terrible to look at these people. They have lost all hope. They cannot find work, and if they can, they have lost all energy and will. They cannot buy clothes or furniture, books or newspapers. Eight or nine persons live in a single room. They each have a bed, a chair, and a suitcase. That is all. They are all ill, or invalids, and unable to work. One has the impression that sooner or later they will all go mad."

The "Displaced Persons" whose children are growing up under such terrible conditions are people like us, who dreaded the thought of Nazi or Communist domination. Some of them came from the Nazi labour, concentration and prisoner-of-war camps in 1945. Others fled before the advancing Russian armies, forsaking good

homes and jobs, in the hopes of building a new life in the Western world.

There were millions of them. Camps were set up—in the ex-prisoner of war huts—as temporary accommodation. Conditions were so bad that tuberculosis soon became rife. This was the death-knell to the hopes of many. Unless they could be passed 100 per cent fit, they had practically no chance of being accepted by the immigration authorities of the countries they wished to enter. Some were, of course, placed. But whole families stayed behind rather than leave one of their members who was sick, and run the risk of never seeing him or her again.

Many of them have been there ever since—and the war ended in 1945!

Then, in 1952, when all seemed lost, a certain Miss Joyce Pearce paid a visit to the camps of Western Germany. Moved by compassion, she and her two friends in the teaching profession, Miss Hicks and Miss Dixon, arranged to bring back five little girls, two Polish and three Latvian, to a house in Woking, called Ockenden. There the girls were given a home, and tuition. Later, they were admitted to local schools.

The first five girls having proved so worth while (one of them is now working as an assistant surveyor to a building firm, and has been able to help get her mother from the camp, into a comfortable flat in Aachen) that it was decided to try to extend the help to some of the other

12,000 children still in the camps. A house near to "Ockenden" was bought privately, and prepared with the help of the five girls and their friends. This was done in faith that public help would be forthcoming, and only when it was ready was official recognition as a Charity Trust applied for and granted.

Since then, the act of faith, which has come to be known as the "Ockenden Venture," has progressed indeed. One hundred and fifteen children have been rescued from their plight and brought to this country for support and education. Other houses have been opened—Donington Hall, in Leicestershire, for instance, houses 44 boys between the ages of eight and eighteen.

In these houses every effort is made to preserve as homelike and informal an atmosphere as possible. Certainly at Donington the effort has succeeded. On a recent visit I saw a houseful of happy, enthusiastic lads to whom the past must surely seem a bad dream, and their escape a miracle.

Last June 1 World Refugee Year opened. The Ockenden Venture plans to bring the complement of children under their care up to 200. There would still be many children, both deserving and hopeful, left in the camps. Would it not be a wonderful thing if they, too, could escape to life, if only to prove that their friends—and ours—have not suffered and died in vain?

## The 'Summit'

A HAPPY New Year to PN readers—and may we, despite the best efforts of the Ministries of Defence, all live to see another.

There seems to be grounds for hope—better grounds than 12 months ago, anyway. The Valley of the Shadow of Dulles lies behind us; we are actually in sight of the Summit—of a regular cordinnera of Summits, indeed—and whatever else summitry may be, it is an improvement on Brinkmanship. If it is not quite so stupendous a moral achievement that politicians need vie with each other for having brought it about, it is at least a concession to common sense which, only this time last year, would still have set ancestral voices prophesying war.

What is more, there seems every likelihood of the Four confronting Krushchev this May as the spokesmen of the US and Britain, France and Germany, instead of as so many Voices of America: and I, for one, cannot share the indignation that swells the New Statesman's breast at the spectacle of such French and German "obstructionism." On the contrary, a little insubordination in NATO strikes me as rather welcome—and certainly it ill becomes those who, when the Cold War was at its coldest, never tired of castigating the British Government for its subservience to America, to round upon Adenauer and de Gaulle for their independence.

## 'Third Force'

IT may be said, of course, that times have changed, and that what was desirable when the US and USSR were in head-on collision is anything but desirable now, when they are both bent on achieving a detente. Indeed, this is actually the charge freely levelled against Adenauer and de Gaulle—that, having flourished upon the Cold War, they are unwilling to see it end. But it is not a very plausible charge—if only because Adenauer knows better than anybody that German reunification depends on its ending, while de Gaulle, far from flourishing on it, languished in the obscurity of Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises.

Really, there is no reason to suppose that these two are less eager for a *detente* than we are; they are simply more doubtful whether it will be achieved by a Summit. And their doubts are not unwarranted. In the general excitement over meeting Khrushchev, it seems to have been almost forgotten that talks, though they may pave the way to a settlement, do not constitute one themselves; that a settlement depends on the Five Powers agreeing on a policy, and that so far neither Britain nor America has given any indication of having a policy at all, let alone one likely to be agreed on.

Perhaps that does not matter so much as de Gaulle and

## COMMENTARY

By

Bruce Odspur

Adenauer suppose. Perhaps it is less important in the long run that decisions should follow upon talks than that talks should precede decisions. The more we take discussions for granted, the less likely we are to be stampeded into war over some trivial dispute.

Nevertheless, let us not be too ready to condemn the efforts made by France and Germany to rescue the idea of Western Union from its emasculation by NATO, remembering what age-old animosities have had to be overcome in the process. Until a settlement is actually in sight, there is quite a lot to be said for Adenauer's policy of creating an economically integrated, viable Western Europe; and still more for de Gaulle's stubborn refusal to entrust its fate unconditionally to the Pentagon.

## China and India

IT is a pity that just at this moment when the great blocs are breaking up, the ice should be accumulating more thickly than ever on the Himalayas—that at the very moment when negotiation, and even neutralism, are beginning to find favour in the West, the great protagonist of neutralism and negotiation should be talking in terms of "positions of strength" and even "blood, toil, tears and sweat."

If the mantle of Stalin has descended on Mao, it might seem as though Nehru were patching up Dulles'. But I don't think we need forbode anything quite so dreadful as that. China is still too dependent upon Russia economically for Mao to risk branding Khrushchev a Revisionist, however much he may long to do so; and India will certainly not slip into SEATO, however popular Eisenhower may have made himself.

In last week's PN Mr. Derek Bryan took me to task for likening the present Chinese régime to Stalin's. His arguments do not reassure me. It will take more than the rehabilitation of a few thousand of the purged to convince me that purges are unknown in China; and much less than the manifest provocation of millions of Indians to prove that there was nothing provocative about Chou En-lai's charges of imperialism. If Mr. Brian doubts the sincerity of the Chinese leaders, he will have to produce more substantial evidence. To me their whole record, from the subjugation of Tibet to the brain-washing of Indian police, seems to show that they are exactly what they profess to be—consistent Marxist-Leninists like Stalin, prepared, like him, to adopt any means calculated

to ensure universal collectivisation, and liable, like him, to defeat their end by disenchanting their fellow-travellers too soon.

That does not mean, of course, that "the way in which one-fifth of the world's population are building a new social and economic order for themselves" is not of "direct interest to everyone who is working for peace"; obviously it is of the utmost interest. Still less does it mean that we should rule out the possibility of the Chinese revolution, like the Russian, losing some of its momentum with time—provided it gives itself time: on the contrary, we should be more ready to suspend judgment on its course than Mr. Brian appears to be. It only means that there is no reason, as yet, to think that the new order resulting from a quarter of a century's bloody struggle against the Kuomintang and the Japanese is likely to prove more humane than those born (pace Mr. Brian) out of the comparatively bloodless overthrow of the British Raj.

## The Lesson

WHAT is of still more direct interest to us, just now, however, is the Indian reaction to Chinese encroachments, since nothing could show more clearly than Nehru's current talk of a massive expansion of heavy industry the price that will have to be paid for abandoning Gandhi's methods. It is nothing less than the abandonment of Gandhi's ideals. That was what Jayaprakash Narayan realised when he renounced politics for the Bhoodan Movement. It is a safe guess that, as year by year the issue comes into sharper focus, more and more serious reformers will be found to follow his example.

And not only in India. The issue is universal. No government can survive as yet that does not rely on military force; and no government that relies on that, however good its intentions, can do more than preserve an uneasy peace. Whether the peace is put to good use or bad depends, therefore, upon the initiative of individuals and groups. Only they can offset the ravages of a military economy, or in the long run create a climate of opinion that will enable governments themselves to dispense with it.

There are signs that this lesson is being learnt. To be sure, there must still be many, even in Britain, who expect politicians to do their work for them; otherwise we should not hear so much tedious talk about "disillusionment in politics." But more and more, I think, are coming to realise that disillusionment is a cure and not a disease, a beginning and not an end, and act accordingly. That is what the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament suggests, at any rate—and equally the growing movement for a boycott of South African goods, which the TUC itself has now endorsed. For all that we have still to find our Bhoodan; what is happening at the grass-roots today may ultimately prove quite as auspicious as anything transpiring at the Summit.

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## TUC backs boycott

**T**HE British Trades Union Congress is supporting the boycott of South African goods.

The General Council of the TUC decided on December 23 to issue an appeal to all members of the trade union movement and to the public to back a consumer's boycott of South African goods.

This, said the General Council, would enable people to express their "personal revulsion against the racial policies being pursued by the South African Government in the political, social and industrial fields."

## No fool-proof inspection

**T**HE three-Power Geneva conference on nuclear tests resumes on January 12.

It has been negotiating a possible universal controlled cessation since October 31, 1958.

In the past fortnight non-nuclear underground explosions have been fired in the United States and Britain to help discover whether underground nuclear blasts can be hidden.

The Times commented in its first leader on December 21: "It has to be recognised that a fool-proof system of detection is impossible."

## U.S. to evacuate bases

**A**MERICAN forces will withdraw from Morocco by the end of 1963.

President Eisenhower and King Mohammed VI agreed to this in Casablanca on December 22.

# THIS IS YOUR WORLD

Preliminary steps for the withdrawal, a Reuter report said, will begin "in the immediate future," and the air base at Ben Slimane will be handed back by March 31.

## Indian opinions

**O**PPPOSITION members in the Indian Lower House explained on December 22 that they only wanted a "police action" against China.

Suez and Korea assured them that the conflict would not spread.

Mr. Kripalani, leader of the Praja Socialist Party, said that such a punitive expedition would not only drive the Chinese off Indian soil but would have a bracing effect on India.

The Times quoted the socialist leader as saying: "It is conflict that brings out the best in a country, that brings about unity."

## Humane protection

**A** FRENCH Army school in Algeria teaches "humane" methods of torture.

This is stated by one contributor to a symposium in the French weekly newspaper "Témoignage Chrétien" (Christian Witness), which put questions to four former reserve officers who served in Algeria.

The Times' Paris correspondent reported on December 21 that one of the officers, who is now said to be a priest, described

the activities of the Operational Detachment of Protection, a flying squad of military interrogators who wear either khaki or black.

This same contributor described a course he attended at the "Joan of Arc" training centre for subversive warfare at Philippeville. A captain there gave these rules to be followed for torture:

- It must not be in the presence of young people or sadists;
- It must be clean;
- It must be done by an officer or some responsible person;
- It must be humane—that is, it must stop as soon as the victim has "talked" and it must not leave any traces.

On these conditions, the captain told his audience, they had the right to use water and electricity.

**Madagascar and Dahomey**, members of the French Community, have asked for independence, M. Tsiranana, the President of Madagascar, stated in Paris on December 20. The Mali Federation's independence, set for early in 1960, was approved by General de Gaulle on December 13.

**The German firm of Krupps** announced on December 23 that they had agreed to put forward 6,000,000 marks (over £500,000)

for compensation to Jews taken from concentration camps and used as forced labour in the Krupps concerns. Each genuine claimant will receive about 5,000 marks (over £400).

**In Hiroshima** 38 people died last year in the hospital for victims of the 1945 A-bomb. The hospital authorities announced on Monday that this was eight more than in 1958, Reuter reported from Tokyo.

**The world's population**, at the present rate, will double in 40 years, Dr. C. P. Blacker, adviser on population, British Ministry of Health, said on Monday.

## PEACE NEWS

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# 1960 IS AFRICA YEAR

**WITHOUT** exaggeration, the New Year 1960 will be the most important in all the known history of Africa. It will be Africa's Year.

More Africans will attain political freedom than in any previous year. More critical decisions will be taken regarding Africa's future than in any previous year. Let us have a look at the continent as the New Year begins.

Thirty-five thousand Nigerians will have celebrated New Year with a new meaning. They will become independent in October. Their destiny henceforth will be in their own hands.

On the other side of Africa, as far to the east as Nigeria is, to the west, Somalia will cross the political frontier to independence. The one regret of her people will be that the parts of Somaliland which are under French and British rule are not also crossing to liberty with them. But that will come within a few years, when the three territories may be expected to join in a Greater Somalia.

Two other Trusteeship territories become independent with the opening of the New Year: French Togoland and the French Cameroons. Each faces problems of frontiers.

Togoland, after the defeat of Germany in 1919, was divided between France and Britain. The British section decided three years ago to join Ghana and it is now a part of that independent State. Dr. Nkrumah has proposed that free French Togoland should form a union with Ghana. Unity has for the time being been rejected; but I hope a proposal for early federation may still be considered.

The Cameroons were similarly divided between France and Britain, and the British territory has so far been administered with Nigeria. We shall not know until next year whether this part of the Cameroons, voting as two sections, North and South, will decide to join the independent Cameroons or independent Nigeria.

## Internal problem

The Cameroons have a serious internal problem. For five years there has been open rebellion in the French Cameroons, in which the casualties have reached the high



By  
**FENNER  
BROCKWAY**  
MP

inaugurated with a refugee Government in another African State and with its elected Legislature not allowed to meet!

For the sake of the good name of Africa I would plead with Prime Minister Ahidjo to inaugurate independence by offering an amnesty to the rebels. I make the suggestion that the ten independent States in Africa, who agreed at their Accra Conference to act in common, should offer their services as mediators to the newly-independent Cameroons. It will be a tragedy for all Africa if a civil war mars the beginning of the new State. An amnesty, democratic rights for all parties, including the UPC, and a general election for a new Parliament should be the basis of the settlement.

These new African States—Nigeria,

Somalia, Togoland and the Cameroons—become independent in 1960. It is even possible that the vast area of Belgian Congo may be added to the list. Originally, it was the intention to inaugurate independence next year, but African pressure has become so strong that the date may be expedited.

Of equal significance for the future of Africa will be the struggle for the liberation of critical territories where the issue hangs in the balance.

Kenya's future is in doubt. During this first month of the New Year its constitutional conference will meet in London. The elected Africans, now reunited, will ask for full democracy, with a common roll for Africans, Europeans and Asians. They will be happy for the Europeans and Asians to stay in Kenya if they will accept racial equality.

This year will also see the constitutional review for the Central African Federation.

In Nyasaland the Africans will be content with nothing less than independence; the Africans of Northern Rhodesia will demand a majority in the Legislature; the Africans of Southern Rhodesia will claim an end of the colour bar.

In the Union of South Africa the issue is joined between those who impose the humiliating apartheid, and those who assert the right of all non-whites to human equality.

The New Year will see this struggle mounting to a crisis.

Far away in the north the New Year will decide whether Algeria is at last to move peacefully to independence. The United Nations did not carry the Afro-Asian resolution with the necessary two-thirds majority, but General de Gaulle will surely realise that he must negotiate not only a cease fire but fair conditions for self-determination, including a vote under international supervision. The real problem for the General will be the attitude not of the Algerians, but of the richard European settlers.

## Malta's fate

And let us not forget the island of Malta in the middle of the Mediterranean, between Africa and Europe. Her fate will be decided in this New Year.

So we begin 1960. We begin with great hopes, but also with an understanding of the stern conditions which will remain.

I rejoice that the Labour Party has decided to regard 1960 as "Africa Year." It will strengthen bonds of solidarity with the peoples of Africa when they know that throughout this year British Labour will campaign for African freedom.

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Harrington demonstration

LEADERS in prison are like shallots—ten will come up for every one that is put in. However large or small the party which goes to Harrington on January 2, Pat Arrowsmith and her friends have already been able to turn "preventive action" against them into an imaginative gesture of their own, and they will have the support of a much larger body of sympathisers.

It is important, for this reason alone, that the section of the leadership which has physical experience of non-violence should not allow itself to be too much thinned by arrests beforehand—its presence will be needed, for there are virtually sure to be agents provocateurs in force, and if

as Ronald Mallone doubts (PN Nov. 27). But do we really expect them to be anti-war? At best they are semi-documentaries produced in order to tell a story of heroism or great achievement. Actors are artists and the best of them want to do justice to their subject. They are not in the business for propaganda for or against war.

After reading Peace News I switched on my radio as someone was interviewing a film star who had just made a war film. I made a scribbled note that the star was Herbert Lom and that he found it a weird experience working on a set with British and German technicians to produce a film about the man who (I think) invented the V1 and V2 bombs! Asked what his hobbies were he said reading, writing, painting

ably for peace to the end of his long life. We have rightly and proudly named one of the rooms in the new Peace News offices after Henry Carter. Let us not forget too that experience as a young man in the trenches in World War I gave us Max Plowman. Yet how many pacifists have ever heard of his book "A Subaltern on the Somme in 1916," published in 1927, or know the pacifist classics he wrote between the wars? I guess present day pacifists know more about the lives of war heroes! Yet that story, right up to the active service for peace that ended his life in 1941, would make a wonderful film. One day someone will want to make a documentary film about pacifist heroes—including our Prisoners for Peace who at this moment are fighting their battles for peace in the

but I hope a proposal for early federation may still be considered.

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## Internal problem

The Cameroons have a serious internal problem. For five years there has been open rebellion in the French Cameroons, in which the casualties have reached the high total of between 3,000 and 5,000. The violence began when the French outlawed the first national independence movement, the *Union des Populations Camerounaises* (UPC), on the ground that it was under Communist influence.

There were two sections of the UPC, a Nationalist wing led by Ruben Um Nyobe, who certainly was not a Communist. Unhappily he was killed last year. The leader of the other section, exiled Dr. Felix Moumie, has no doubt had Communist associations; he has been in China and Russia. But that does not make him a Communist—and in the immediate context of Africa, Communism has not the same significance as in Europe or Asia or South America. Dr. Moumie has now formed an alliance with a Roman Catholic leader from the Cameroons, M. Mbida, for a time Prime Minister, now also a refugee, and they have set up an exile Government in Conakry in Guinea.

What are the rights and wrongs of this conflict? The Government in the Cameroons to whom the French have handed over is conservative and authoritarian. Its leaders collaborated with the French. The Prime Minister, M. Abmadou Ahidjo, enjoyed only a small minority in the National Assembly and refused to have an election before independence. He has now suspended the Parliament.

Irony could not be carried much further: national freedom for the Cameroons is

Greetings of Goodwill to all who strive for peace.

Let us go forward to disarmament in 1960 and free the world from danger of war.

British Peace Committee.

ten will come up for every one that is put in. However large or small the party which goes to Harrington on January 2, Pat Arrowsmith and her friends have already been able to turn "preventive action" against them into an imaginative gesture of their own, and they will have the support of a much larger body of sympathisers.

It is important, for this reason alone, that the section of the leadership which has physical experience of non-violence should not allow itself to be too much thinned by arrests beforehand—its presence will be needed, for there are virtually sure to be *agents provocateurs* in force, and if a row cannot be provoked it will be staged. In these circumstances example is important.

Any members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament who doubt their own ability to keep their heads should stay away—but judging from past occasions there are not many to whom this will apply. The supporters of the Aldermaston marches have been essentially non-violent people—not by conviction so much as by habit and inclination, and non-violence such as we have seen in past demonstrations has a dignity (even in mud) and a coolness which appeals inherently.

It could easily become a traditionally English method of protest, open, not conspiratorial, good humoured, not angry, peaceful, but in deadly earnest.

The main risk of successful provocation comes, indeed, not from aggressiveness so much as from misplaced chivalry, and a desire to intervene on someone else's behalf—this must be controlled, however: the demonstrators do not want support of that kind. But they know, and so do the authorities, that whatever happens the spectators on this occasion will be demonstrators next time themselves.

Over 20,000 people took part in the Aldermaston march last year. If one in a hundred of them goes to Harrington, it will be an impressive demonstration—if one in ten were to go, the range of their action would be as great, internationally, as that of the rockets they are opposing.—ALEX COMFORT, Loughton, Essex.

## War films

AS I have not been to a cinema since I retired here four years ago I do not know whether "anti-war films are in fashion" or whether they are "anti-war

wa?" At best they are semi-documentaries produced in order to tell a story of heroism or great achievement. Actors are artists and the best of them want to do justice to their subject. They are not in the business for propaganda for or against war.

After reading Peace News I switched on my radio as someone was interviewing a film star who had just made a war film. I made a scribbled note that the star was Herbert Lom and that he found it a weird experience working on a set with British and German technicians to produce a film about the man who (I think) invented the V1 and V2 bombs! Asked what his hobbies were he said reading, writing, painting and farming. He had chosen to grow Christmas Trees rather than farm cattle and loved the life.

Who can measure the success or failure of a film? It must be 30 odd years ago that I saw the film of the book "All Quiet on the Western Front." How well I remember the local branch of the League of Nations Union with a table in the cinema foyer, hopefully displaying the book and their literature, with members handing out leaflets as the people poured out after every performance. Only the very few looked at the literature, but nearly all dropped a few coppers into the plate and then went home doubtless feeling they had done their bit for peace.

Granted it is difficult to understand how soon the world could have been swept into a second war; and to see a fresh flood of war films shown as entertainment. Yet that is exactly our job—to try to understand it. We must also take our share of the blame for that war. There was the usual rush to join peace movements in the years of crisis, as there is now, but some of us remember how our ranks thinned in 1939, and would again if war came, despite all our sincere protests now. But whatever happens we must not lose faith in the ultimate wisdom of good peace-loving people. They do recognise true peacemaking in their daily lives as they are quick to see and condemn cruelty and mischief making. It may not add up yet to what we mean by pacifism. That takes time. Few learn from the experience of others—and pacifists are no exception.

In World War I a minister of religion said to me, half jokingly, after some big military set-back, "We'll beat them yet, even if I have to go out myself..." That man became one of our most distinguished pacifist leaders, working indefatig-

ly and we have rightly and proudly named one of the rooms in the new Peace News offices after Henry Carter. Let us not forget too that experience as a young man in the trenches in World War I gave us Max Plowman. Yet how many pacifists have ever heard of his book "A Subaltern on the Somme in 1916," published in 1927, or know the pacifist classics he wrote between the wars? I guess present day pacifists know more about the lives of war heroes! Yet that story, right up to the active service for peace that ended his life in 1941, would make a wonderful film. One day someone will want to make a documentary film about pacifist heroes—including our Prisoners for Peace who at this moment are fighting their battles for peace in utter loneliness in a prison cell. How ready and how qualified should we be if we were asked to help with such a script tomorrow? WINIFRED CUMMINGS, 'St. Ives,' Silver St., Braunton, Devon.

## FIFTEEN MINUTES TO ANNIHILATION

Thor Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles fitted with H-Bomb warheads, for which groups of bases have been built in Britain, have now been made operational.

Fifteen minutes after a joint order from Washington and London these missiles can be fired—and would bring in retaliation annihilation to Britain.

This is the meaning of Harrington and all rocket bases in Britain.

## PROTEST

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is organising protests, by legitimate means, against these Bases, and in sympathy with those in prison.

January 2nd — 1 p.m.

ROTHWELL MARKET PLACE  
(near Kettering)

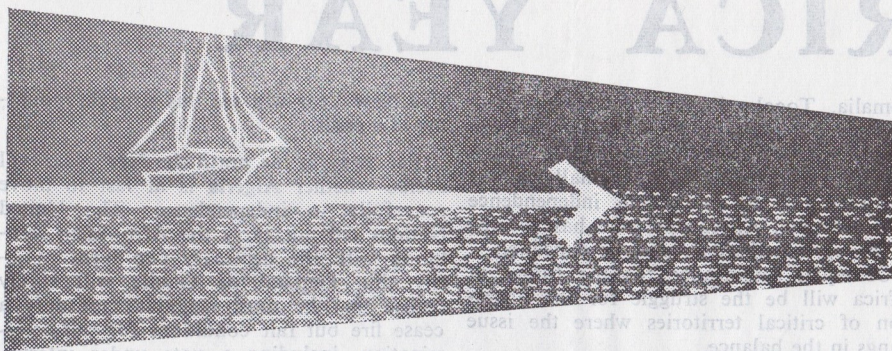
MEETING, MARCH & MOTORCADES

January 3rd — 2.30 p.m.

SPEAKERS' CORNER, HYDE PARK  
PROTEST MEETING

(in co-operation with the  
London Regional Council)

Further details from CND,  
143 Fleet Street, E.C.4. FLE 4175/2159



This was part of one of the 1958 covers to Liberation magazine. It depicts the voyage of the "Golden Rule," the ketch which sailed from California in an attempt to stop nuclear tests in the Eniwetok area of the Pacific. Liberation's editors were closely associated with the project.

THE decline of independent radicalism and the gradual falling into silence of prophetic and rebellious voices is an ominous feature of the mid-twentieth century. Anxiety and apprehension have invaded the air we breathe. Advances in science and technology, which should have been our greatest triumphs, leave us stunned and uncertain as to whether human life and history have meaning.

Power is everywhere openly and secretly idolised. The threat of atomic or biological war, perhaps even the extinction of mankind, hangs over the earth. Hopes and ideals have become propaganda devices. But those who should furnish vision and direction are silent or echoing old ideas in which they scarcely believe themselves.

This failure of a new radicalism to emerge is an indication, it seems to us, that the stock of fundamental ideas on which the radical thinking of recent times has been predicated is badly in need of thorough reappraisal. Much of its inspiration appears to be used up. Old labels—principally in the Marxist and liberal traditions—simply do not apply any more, and the phrases which 50 years ago were guideposts to significant action have largely become empty patter and jargon.

The changes of recent years—represented by atomic power and by the beginnings of the Second Industrial Revolution and also by the rise of totalitarianism—have filled many thoughtful persons with the strong suspicion that the problems of today must be attacked on a much deeper level than traditional Marxists, Communists and various kinds of Socialists and Anarchists have realised. Proposals and calls to action couched in the old terms fail any longer to inspire much hope or genuine humane enthusiasm, because large numbers of people are aware, or dimly sense, that they do not

of property relationships which are oppressive and destructive of true community, but if these are altered and the average individual finds his life as dull and empty as ever and the enslavement of his hours just as great, little or nothing has been achieved.

It is increasingly evident that nineteenth century modes of thought are largely incapable of dealing with such questions. The changes which are going on in the modern world—which call into doubt many assumptions which almost all nineteenth century revolutionists and reformers took for granted—require also changes in our deepest modes of thought. We require a post-Soviet, post-H-bomb expression of the needs of today and a fresh vision of the world of peace, freedom and brotherhood in which they can be met.

## Our root traditions

In re-examining our thought—and especially the two great dominant traditions of liberalism and Marxism—we return in part again to root traditions from which we derive our values and standards. There are four of these:

1. There is an ancient Judeo-Christian prophetic tradition which gave men a

# THE ROOTS

have insisted that injustice and violence cannot be overcome by injustice and violence but only by righteousness and peace. In particular, Gandhi stands in this tradition, not as an example to be slavishly imitated, but as a pioneer who in a series of great political and social experiments joined non-violence and revolutionary collective action.

## Critique of Liberalism

In the light of these root traditions we can see that the greatness of liberalism has been its emphasis on humaneness and tolerance, its support of the liberties of the individual and its insistence on the free and inquiring mind and rejection of fanaticism and dogmatism. Its weakness has been its failure to come to grips with war, poverty, boredom, authoritarianism and other great evils of the modern world.

These problems it has tended optimistically to leave to "education" and "good will," both of which have so far proved incapable of dealing with them successfully. Liberalism has tried to diagnose our troubles without going to fundamentals—the inequalities and injustices upon which our present social order is based and which no "good will" can wish away.

This failure to raise the embarrassing questions has made liberalism often shallow, hypocritical and dilettantish, all too often lacking in fundamental earnestness. Essentially the liberal accepts the existing order and wants to exploit it and share in it as much as the next man. At the same time he is troubled and wants the good conscience of repudiating its wrongs.

Liberalism thus becomes a fashionable pose—for millionaires and generals as well as for intellectuals and editorial writers. It becomes a public ritual lacking roots in private life and behaviour, and makes the liberal an easy prey of opportunism and expedience.

As against this liberal attitude a new quality of seriousness and personal honesty is necessary. In this respect what is wanted is not political liberalism but political fundamentalism. We are more interested in concrete situations than in rhetorical blueprints, in individual behaviour than in abstract

trying to liberate mankind from economic slavery, he failed to see the looming horror of political slavery.

Closely related to this failure is Marx's inability to realise that social betterment cannot be brought about by the same old methods of force and chicanery characterising the regimes which had to be overthrown precisely because they embodied such evils. It is an illuminating insight of pragmatism that means and ends condition each other reciprocally and that the ends must be built into the means.

It is not sound, therefore, to expect to achieve peace through war, justice through violence, freedom through dictatorship, or civil liberties through slave labour camps. Such instruments create the social attitudes and habit patterns which they are ostensibly designed to remove. Dictatorship in any form, as well as spy systems, concentration camps, military conscription, restrictions on travel and censorship of books, papers and political parties must all be decisively rejected. What this means is that a truly radical movement today—if it does not want to fall into the trap which the Russian Communist movement has fallen into—must take these ethical problems much more seriously than many nineteenth century thinkers did, and must commit itself to an essentially democratic and non-violent strategy.

## The politics of the future

One of the symptoms of our time is that many people are fed up with "politics"—by which they mean the whole machinery associated with political life. To become significant, politics must discover its ethical foundations and dynamic.

The politics of the future requires a creative synthesis of the individual ethical insights of the great religious leaders and the collective social concern of the great revolutionists.

It follows that we do not conceive the problem of revolution or the building of a better society as one of accumulating power, whether by legislative or other methods, to "capture the State," and then, presumably, to transform society.

—simply do not apply any more, and the phrases which 50 years ago were guideposts to significant action have largely become empty patter and jargon.

The changes of recent years—represented by atomic power and by the beginnings of the Second Industrial Revolution and also by the rise of totalitarianism—have filled many thoughtful persons with the strong suspicion that the problems of today must be attacked on a much deeper level than traditional Marxists, Communists and various kinds of Socialists and Anarchists have realised. Proposals and calls to action couched in the old terms fail any longer to inspire much hope or genuine humane enthusiasm, because large numbers of people are aware, or dimly sense, that they do not touch the roots of the trouble.

There is no point, for example, in reshuffling power, because the same old abuses still persist under new masters. The vast energy devoted to reconstructing government is wasted if in a short time the new structure becomes as impervious to fundamental human decency and ethics as the old one.

There is no doubt that there are forms

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world of peace, freedom and brotherhood in which they can be met.

## Our root traditions

In re-examining our thought—and especially the two great dominant traditions of liberalism and Marxism—we return in part again to root traditions from which we derive our values and standards. There are four of these :

1. There is an ancient Judeo-Christian prophetic tradition which gave men a vision of human dignity and a reign of righteousness, equality and brotherhood on earth. It taught them that building such an order of life was their task, and that a society of justice and fraternity could be built by justice and love and not by any other means.
2. There is an American tradition—far from having been realised, often distorted and all but lost—of a “nation conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.” It is a tradition which also emphasises the dignity of man and asserts that government rests upon consent, and institutions are made for man, not man for institutions. Such names as Jefferson, Paine, Thoreau, Emerson, Debs, Randolph Bourne; the Quaker experiment in Pennsylvania, the Utopian community experiments, the Abolition movement, the Underground Railway, are associated with this tradition.
3. There is the heritage of the libertarian, democratic, anti-war, socialist, anarchist and labour movements in Europe and the United States in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth. Multitudes of common people, the impoverished and distressed, believed that through these movements, with the help of modern science and technology, a “class-less and war-less world” had become possible and would in a comparatively short time be achieved.
4. There is a tradition of pacifism or non-violence which has been exemplified throughout the centuries and in many parts of the world in great teachers and saints—or in such a figure as the Emperor Asoka—who have rejected war as accursed and unworthy of men and

it as much as the next man. At the same time he is troubled and wants the good conscience of repudiating its wrongs.

Liberalism thus becomes a fashionable pose—for millionaires and generals as well as for intellectuals and editorial writers. It becomes a public ritual lacking roots in private life and behaviour, and makes the liberal an easy prey of opportunism and expedience.

As against this liberal attitude a new quality of seriousness and personal honesty is necessary. In this respect what is wanted is not political liberalism but political fundamentalism. We are more interested in concrete situations than in rhetorical blueprints, in individual lives than in “global historical forces” which remain merely abstract. What matters to us is what happens to the individual human being—here and now. We will be just as flexible as the liberal, but we will strive to be more searching, and we will insist on spelling things out in terms of daily consequences, hour to hour, for everyone.

## Critique of Marxism

Marxism, like liberalism, has much to teach both positively and negatively. Its fundamental demand for economic justice and its attack on the problem of poverty are permanently valuable. It touches the source of much that is wrong with the world in exposing the property nerve.

But many of its attitudes are those of the outmoded bourgeois epoch which it tried to repudiate. Marx was to a much greater degree than he himself realised a spokesman for nineteenth century thought patterns, now hopelessly out of date. His historical determinism, built up by analogy from now out-moded science, is an example. So also is the tendency to sacrifice the present for the future, so that human beings of today are regarded as pawns for bringing about something better in a tomorrow that never comes.

The most serious weaknesses of Marxism, however, are its omissions and its reactionary “realism” in respect to the instruments of revolution. Marx, for all his brilliant analysis of economic power, failed to analyse with equal profundity the questions of military and political power. Hence he underestimated the seriousness of the growth of the state and its emergence as an instrument of war and oppression. In

One of the symptoms of our time is that many people are fed up with “politics”—by which they mean the whole machinery associated with political life. To become significant, politics must discover its ethical foundations and dynamic.

The politics of the future requires a creative synthesis of the individual ethical insights of the great religious leaders and the collective social concern of the great revolutionists.

It follows that we do not conceive the problem of revolution or the building of a better society as one of accumulating power, whether by legislative or other methods, to “capture the State,” and then, presumably, to transform society and human beings as well. The national, sovereign, militarised and bureaucratic State and a bureaucratic collectivist economy are themselves evils to be avoided or abolished. Seizure of the war-making and repressive machinery of the State cannot be a step toward transforming society into a free and humanly satisfying pattern.

It is the transformation of society by human decision and action that we seek. This is a more complex and human process in which power as ordinarily conceived plays a minor part. Political action in this context is, therefore, broadly conceived. It includes such developments as the Land Gift Movement in India and community and co-operative experiments in many lands. New political alignments in the narrower sense of the term may emerge from basic

● ON PAGE SEVEN

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# OF NEW POLITICS

## ● FROM PAGE SIX

ethical and social changes, but preoccupation with or dependence upon the machinery of politics, or the violent seizure of power, are evils always to be avoided, and never more so than in the present crisis.

Similarly, we reject the faith in technology, industrialisation and centralisation *per se*, characteristic of both the contemporary capitalist and Communist regimes. Our emphasis is rather on possibilities for decentralisation, on direct participation of all workers or citizens in determining the conditions of life and work, and on the use of technology for human ends, rather than the subjection of man to the demands of technology.

From the synthesis of the ethical and the political emerges a new attitude toward utopianism in social and cultural thinking. Under the impact of Marxism, utopianism became virtually a term of abuse. But this attitude itself was narrow and misjudged the scientific method, not seeing that the essence of science is its openness to new and creative insights and its willingness to test them experimentally. The utopian attitude is one that is permanently needed in human affairs. It represents the growing edge of society and the creative imagination of a culture.

As we recognise more and more the imaginative and speculative element in mathematics and science and as the mechanical determinism of the last century passes away, the outmoded "scientific" aspect of nineteenth century Marxism will begin to disappear, and Marx will then appear in his true light as one of the great visionaries and utopian thinkers of that century. With new conditions, modifica-

which a few persons are killed at a time and one in which multitudes are wiped out. But from a sociological view, the H-bomb and what it symbolises—possible extinction of the race itself—present mankind with a new situation.

War is no longer an instrument of policy or a means to any rational end. For this reason, if for no other, a central part of any radical movement today is withdrawal of support from the military preparation and activities of both the dominant power blocs. Whatever differences may exist between Communist and "free world"

from both Communism and capitalism. Such groups as the Asian Socialist parties, the Gandhian Constructive Workers, and the Bhodan movement of Vinoba Bhave in India illustrate this trend, as do the non-violent responses to Colonialism in Africa. The June, 1953, workers' revolts in East Germany were part of a spontaneous movement in this direction.

We need information about such developments so that we can draw political and moral implications from them. This may, in itself, render these movements a genuine service by helping them to clarify their own

## TRACT FOR THE TIMES

This article was the original editorial statement, in March, 1956, of the American independent monthly magazine *Liberation*. Written before Suez and Hungary, and before Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin was published, it retains its original freshness and relevance in a world of rapid change. Indeed, it locates vital problems which confront men developing new politics in the crucial nineteen-sixties.

régimes, in this decisive respect they are equal threats, two sides of the same threat to the survival of civilisation. The H-bomb is not an instrument of peace in the hands of one and of war in the hands of the other. Nor is it a mere accidental excrement in either of them but, rather, a logical outgrowth of their basic economic and social orders.

War and war preparation in the hands of any other power or group of powers is not a source of deliverance either. A Third Force based on military power would be reactionary and evil just as the present power blocs are. Any "Third Camp" or "Third Way" grouping of peoples must, therefore, be founded on an essentially non-military, non-violent base.

There are in Western Europe, Asia Africa, and Latin America, peoples who live "in between" the two atomically armed power blocs. Of necessity, their

thinking, on such basic questions as non-violence in relation both to national policy and to social change within the nation.

Finally this does not in any degree imply preoccupation with affairs abroad to the neglect of developments at home. Nor does it mean concern with large-scale societal or governmental revolution to the neglect of the "one-man revolution" and of experiments in creative living by individuals, families, and small groups. Such activities are especially important because germinal. What happens in any significant sense in society as a whole is directly related, and to a great degree grows out of, what has already happened in the lives of individuals and small groups.

We need inspiration not only to fresh thinking but to *action now*—refusal to run away or to conform, concrete resistance in the communities in which we live to all the ways in which human beings are regimented and corrupted, dehumanised and

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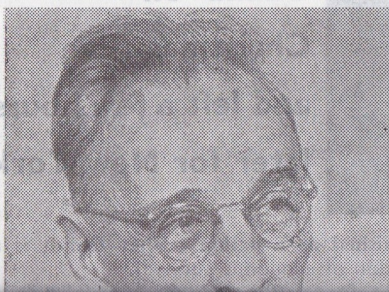
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appear in his true light as one of the great visionaries and utopian thinkers of that century. With new conditions, modifica-



Rev. A. J. Muste, one of the editors of Liberation magazine, has spent a lifetime in American radical movements. His recent work as co-ordinator of the Sahara A-bomb protest team epitomises the magazine's concern "not only for fresh thinking but for action now."

tions of his utopian thinking are necessary and new utopias will appear, to furnish direction and incentives for action.

The world *can* move toward the abolition of war and toward a society built on responsible freedom, mutuality and peace. Collective effort and struggle to achieve such a society should not be abandoned because the movements of an earlier day have been frustrated or wrecked.

The very presuppositions on which human relationships are based must be revolutionised. This makes it peculiarly difficult to live responsibly as individuals today and to carry on collective efforts for basic changes. In addition, the creation of a movement of dissent and social change in the United States is impeded by a sustained, war-based prosperity, with millions of unionists making a living at war jobs. This makes the task virtually as difficult in the United States as in Russia or other Communist-bloc countries.

The problem of war is one of special gravity for us, as for all our fellow men. It may be argued that for personal ethics there is no distinction between a war in

a logical outgrowth of their basic economic and social orders.

War and war preparation in the hands of any other power or group of powers is not a source of deliverance either. A Third Force based on military power would be reactionary and evil just as the present power blocs are. Any "Third Camp" or "Third Way" grouping of peoples must, therefore, be founded on an essentially non-military, non-violent base.

There are in Western Europe, Asia Africa, and Latin America, peoples who live "in between" the two atomically armed power blocs. Of necessity, their prime objective is to keep from being drawn into either bloc and engulfed in the wars for which these Leviathans are arming. Nor can these peoples "in between" escape the peril by seeking to constitute a third atomically armed power bloc. Even if they were permitted by the dominant powers to achieve such military and economic independence as to constitute a decisive "balance," this would only serve to plunge the world into permanent war among three totalitarian tyrannies, on George Orwell's model in "1984."

There are in non-committed areas groups seeking to deal with the problems of economics and politics in a broader way and at a deeper ethical level. They seek to build not another Military Force but a Third Camp or Third Way. They are striving not only to avoid war but to build a socio-economic order and culture different

societal or governmental revolution to the neglect of the "one-man revolution" and of experiments in creative living by individuals, families, and small groups. Such activities are especially important because germinal. What happens in any significant sense in society as a whole is directly related, and to a great degree grows out of, what has already happened in the lives of individuals and small groups.

We need inspiration not only to fresh thinking but to *action now*—refusal to run away or to conform, concrete resistance in the communities in which we live to all the ways in which human beings are regimented and corrupted, dehumanised and deprived of their freedom; experimentation in creative living by individuals, families, and groups; day to day support of movements to abolish colonialism and racism or for the freedom of all individuals from domination, whether military, economic, political, or cultural.

*(The last three paragraphs of this article have been very slightly altered. In the original they described what Liberation magazine was setting out to do—and has in fact been doing ever since.—Ed. PN.)*

"Quaker Publicity," a new pamphlet by Charles Hadfield (9d, from Friends Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1) contains much information useful to peace groups and kindred organisations.

Monday, January 11.

**BIRMINGHAM:** 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Mtg. Kings Heath & Cotteridge PPU.

Thursday, January 14.

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Mtg. "War on Hire Purchase"; Bill Gotch. PPU.

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## Police denial

**THE** Chief Constable at Southend-on-Sea, Essex, has denied that any members of his force attended the Foulness Atomic Weapon Establishment demonstration with a cine-camera.

Peace News reported on November 13 that a police photographer was at the march after our own reporter's suspicions were confirmed by a reporter from a local newspaper.

**Conscientious objectors** recently released from Brixton prison met with objectors from World Wars I and II and other "Prisoners for Peace" at a Prisoners for Peace Day gathering in London on December 1. They were addressed by Michael Tippett, the British composer and President of the Peace Pledge Union, himself imprisoned in Wormwood Scrubs in 1943. Frank Merrick, concert pianist, played, amongst other items, variations which he had composed in a prison cell in World War I.

## DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Monday.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

### Starting Saturday, January 2

**HARRINGTON,** nr. Rothwell, Northants: radical rocket base demonstration. Volunteers apply at once to Direct Action Cttee., 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4. (STAmford Hill 7062.)

### Saturday, January 2

**FELIXSTOWE:** 2.45 p.m. 27 The Avenue, Trimley, St Mary. New Year Party. Hostess Iris Martin. Children catered for separately. PPU.

### Thursday, January 7

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Mtg. Joan & Clifford Wicken. PPU.

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## NUCLEAR WAR 'PROBABLE'

**BOTH** Russia and America seem to be hoping for a nuclear stalemate to stabilise "the balance of terror," says a report issued last Saturday by the scientific advisers to America's Democratic Party.

The advisers, however, see "serious dangers in relying upon the balance of nuclear deterrent forces." The technical complexity of inter-continental missiles is today so great that mechanical error—as well as human error—is now a "real possibility," they say.

As a result of all this, a full scale nuclear war is not only possible but probable unless a way can be found out of the present "balance of terror".

The advisers' solution to the problem is an international agreement for controlled disarmament—and Communist China, which America does not at present recognise, should be included in the disarmament scheme.

The report also suggests that America faces the possibility of being a declining world Power during the next 20 or 30 years because of the rapid upsurge in the technological capabilities of Russia and China.

Similar conclusions have been reached in three other reports which have recently been published in America. One was made by the John Hopkins University at the invitation of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, another by the Research Institute of Stanford University, and the third by the Rockefeller Brothers' Fund.

# Sahara protest team 'virtually under arrest'

**A CLEAR PICTURE OF THE PROGRESS OF THE SAHARA PROTEST TEAM EMERGED FROM AN INTERVIEW GIVEN IN LONDON TO PEACE NEWS ON CHRISTMAS EVE BY TEAM MEMBER BAYARD RUSTIN.**

The team challenging the French nuclear tests has split up to undertake various tasks.

The main group is still at the French checkpoint North of Ghana. These are the seven people now left at Po, the small town where the French check point is located, 11 miles on the French side of the border between Northern Ghana and Southern Upper Volta.

The seven are Michael Randle, Rev. Michael Scott, Bill Sutherland, and four Ghanaians: K. Arkhurst (a driver for Government transport), Frimpon Mansu (an Accra business man), Orleans Lindsey (a teacher of science in the Accra High School), and Mr. Akita, who works with the Builders' Brigade (which is composed of young people aged 18-25 who work at subsistence rates on the land, building up the new Ghana).

### Three at border

Three men are situated at Navrongo, the last town in Ghana before the Upper Volta Border. They are there to:

- contact the team and find out what is happening and send back reports to the outside world;
- reach all caravans and transport and give these people going into the Upper Volta leaflets for distribution throughout the territory;
- make certain that a close watch is kept 24 hours a day on the team in the event of arrest, etc.

Among this group are Mr. Necquaye and Percy Marshall.

The following have left the project: Esther Peter has gone to Paris, Bayard Rustin to the US, and Francis Hoyland to England, all to do what they can to build up propaganda in those three countries.

Wants to build her atomic arsenal there so that it will be Africa that will be destroyed and not France.

"From an economic point of view the fact that the winds that blow from the North may now bring fall-out to them was important because Ghana is a one crop nation, and if it affects the cocoa Ghana

"By surrounding us, the French have arrested if he distributed leaflets, but he continued to do so. When soldiers approached him, Michael Randle took out his camera to take photos—and the police ran behind trees to hide.



**Bayard Rustin  
gives PN  
the latest news  
of the action  
against French  
nuclear tests**

**He flew into  
London from**

**Ghana on  
Christmas Eve  
and left a few hours  
later for New York**

detained us. The only way we can move backwards would be to give up the project. The team, therefore, virtually work- is finished as a nation. They feel it is a question of economic survival.

nise, should be included in the disarmament scheme.

The report also suggests that America faces the possibility of being a declining world power during the next 20 or 30 years because of the rapid upsurge in the technological capabilities of Russia and China.

Similar conclusions have been reached in three other reports which have recently been published in America. One was made by the John Hopkins University at the invitation of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, another by the Research Institute of Stanford University, and the third by the Rockefeller Brothers' Fund.

## ALGERIA: MCF slates UK vote

THE Movement for Colonial Freedom has issued the following statement in London:

The Executive Committee of the MCF, whilst welcoming the recognition by the General Assembly of the United Nations that the Algerian war can be terminated only on the basis of the recognition of the right of the Algerian people to national self-determination, regrets its failure to adopt by a two-thirds majority the resolution which called on the two sides to enter into negotiations.

This failure is especially regrettable in view of the announced decision by the Provisional Algerian Government to enter into negotiations with the French Government in order to create conditions in which the inhabitants of Algeria could freely express their views about the future of their country.

The war in Algeria has continued for more than five years and has led to terrible sufferings for the Algerian people.

If the French Government's acceptance of the principle of self-determination is sincere, we can see no reason why early steps to implement this policy cannot be taken. This attitude received the support of a substantial majority of the members of UNO.

The MCF condemns strongly the attitude of the United Kingdom delegation in voting against that portion of the resolution dealing with negotiations.

the outside world;

● reach all caravans and transport and give these people going into the Upper Volta leaflets for distribution throughout the territory;

● make certain that a close watch is kept 24 hours a day on the team in the event of arrest, etc.

Among this group are Mr. Necquaye and Percy Marshall.

The following have left the project: Esther Peter has gone to Paris, Bayard Rustin to the US, and Francis Hoyland to England, all to do what they can to build up propaganda in those three countries.

"In my own case," said Bayard Rustin, "I also made it clear that I had to proceed with the campaign for the Negroes' right to vote."

Pierre Martin has been fasting outside the French Embassy in Accra and will later go to Nigeria to build up support. His fast started on December 23 and was due to end yesterday (Thursday).

Mr. Arinze, a Nigerian, left on December 23 to work in his own country. Ntsu Mokhehle, leader of the Basutoland Congress Party, has gone back to stand in the General Election.

Others, including Dornu Abbey and George Odoi, are working in Ghana outside Accra doing general propaganda work.

## Threats to arrest

"The French," said Bayard Rustin, "have repeatedly threatened to arrest the team, but have not done so, partly because there is grave discomfort with the leadership in the Upper Volta. The French have no real fear of our getting to Reggan, because they know all they have to do is to pick us up and ship us out.

"Why do they surround us by armed police? Because they are anxious about revolt in that area, and with all the superstition and the sentiment, the Opposition people will use our presence for creating a problem for the French. The team are surrounded to prevent them meeting the people. The French don't want to make martyrs of them by arresting them.

"In the last few days the team have been told not to distribute leaflets. This they refused. Their cars are now parked in front of the gate and the French have constructed another way round because they refused to give up the car keys.

"Michael Scott was told he would be



detained us. The only way we can move backwards would be to give up the project. The team, therefore, are virtually under arrest.

"As they are virtually under arrest, the French have been given responsibility for their health and life.

"We could demand that the French provide us with food, water and medical care, but because we are non-violent we don't wish to push our adversary too far.

"This is, as far as I am concerned," said Bayard Rustin, "the most significant pacifist project I have ever been associated with. In the past most of our projects have been moral protests in an atmosphere where there was no possibility of political accommodation.

"This project was in an atmosphere where most of Africa was already aroused and was waiting for a project around which it could rally. It had profound political implications in that it tied together the whole question of militarism and political freedom in a way that people could understand and respond to.

"By the same token it had extreme difficulties in working it out without compromises, but I think we succeeded in doing this.

"Another interesting thing about it is that when we arrived (in Ghana) there was fantastic anti-French feeling concerning everything, but when we left they had responded to our view that we have nothing against France and the French people as such, but we are opposed to the testing of weapons wherever they are. . . . The moral contribution which we gave came because we were able to operate from their political assumptions, bringing in our own point of view.

"Largely because Africa is becoming free, its political objective is to use its soil for the feeding of its people, and they therefore look upon any nuclear test as a threat to them. They will tell you France

London from

Ghana on

Christmas Eve

and left a few hours later for New York

is finished as a nation. They feel it is a question of economic survival.

"As far as the attitude of Africans to Europeans in general is concerned, Michael Scott is Europe's most important commodity. If England had any sense, she would build a large house and put Michael Scott in it for a show piece. Anywhere in Africa the people come to the window to see Michael Scott. They say about him 'My mother told me,' 'I read about him in a newspaper,' or 'I heard about him in school.'

## Governor-General's invitation

"Lord Listowel, the Governor-General, invited Michael Scott to lunch, partly because he is friends with him, but partly because his position as the Queen's representative was enhanced through meeting Michael. It was considered he was entertaining a hero.

"All this reverence for Michael Scott largely springs from the fact that year after year at the UN he speaks for the most depressed part of Africa—the South West. No black man speaks for them, and he is a hero to them.

"From Europe's point of view it is better he is white. The personality of Michael Scott has prevented the project from becoming anti-white.

"The gravest political failure of the protest to date, said Bayard Rustin, "has been that we have not been able to get any organised mass support from French West Africa. The chief reason for this is that a good deal of French West Africa is coming up for independence. The leaders in these areas, such as the Mali Federation, were in fact in Paris at the time, negotiating for independence and for economic ties with France, and it was too much to expect them to defy France at that point."

Next week in PN: Bayard Rustin reflects on the Sahara project.

# did his best

**A**MONG those taking part in the coast to coast march organised by the Sheffield Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was a detective.

According to The Guardian report on Monday "There was also a detective who claimed he was attending the demonstration 'just to see them safely through,' but who, nevertheless, when he was not savaging his fingernails and looking hard at late arrivals, noted the name of each speaker on the back of a football programme."

Forty people set off from Liverpool on Boxing Day on the first stage of the march. On Sunday when the march left St. Helens the numbers had increased to 50, and by Monday when it left Bolton there were 100 people marching.

Both at Wigan and at Bury the marchers were greeted by local councillors, members of the local CND groups and representatives of political parties and the local churches.

**Eighteen young people from London joined the march at Bolton, having travelled overnight to get there.**

The leader of the group, Mischa Goldman, said he was marching "to preserve peace. I am a comfort-loving fellow. I would rather sit at home than do this, but without peace and with the possibility of war with nuclear weapons, there will be no homes in which to sit."

The march ends when it reaches Hull on Sunday.

## WINTER VIGIL AT GERM WARFARE CENTRE

**T**HE vigil at Fort Detrick, the Maryland germ warfare centre employing 2,000 workers, is to continue indefinitely.

This was decided by the Vigil Committee on December 12. The vigil has lasted unbroken from dawn to dusk since July 1. The decision to continue will now be reviewed every month.

"Suffering and death for millions of men, women and children continues to be prepared at Fort Detrick," says the latest newsletter of the Committee. "The citizens of the United States have not been sufficiently informed of what is being done in their name. . . . The need for the Appeal and Vigil is as great as ever. As long

newspapers) who are concerned about the use of a vague law for political purposes.

Unfortunately several of these protests have been based on a false premise. It has been assumed that the demonstration at the Harrington rocket base was to be lawful. The Direct Action Committee has always made it quite clear in all its propaganda that the demonstration, so far as the existing laws of Britain are concerned, would be illegal.

The illegal actions envisaged by the Committee were :



Peace News wishes all readers a happy New Year.

Brize Norton march. Photo: Austin Underwood.

## Tomorrow's plans

**T**HE Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament are encouraging everyone possible to get to Rothwell, Northants, tomorrow (Saturday).

Direct Action will hold a meeting in the market place there at 1.30 p.m. at which speakers will make clear the Committee's opposition to rocket bases and nuclear weapons and its belief in civil disobedience.

from where London-bound coaches will leave at 5.30 p.m.

Cars are asked to report to Rothwell market place at 11.0 a.m. (not 1.00 p.m., as previously asked) in order to travel round the area with leaflets and posters.

Today (Friday) a West of England CND and DAC convoy of cars is leaving Salisbury (Guildhall Square) at 1.00 p.m. and will follow this route: Newbury (Market Place) 2.30; Oxford (Martyrs' Memorial) 3.45; and Wellingborough 5.30 p.m.

1. Trespass on Air Ministry property.

2. An attempt to enter the missile base, climbing the security fence if no other entry was possible (the idea of climbing the fence has now been abandoned).

The Committee hoped to make a serious challenge to the State authorities by taking these actions. What, in effect, it was saying was—"Faced with the total immorality of nuclear weapons it is no longer possible to accept the compromises that democracy demands. No matter how many people support the manufacture of nuclear weapons, we are completely unable to accept them. Not to protest would put us in the same position as those Germans who opposed the concentration camps but did nothing about them."

## concern and action

The Harrington demonstrators will not only be concerned with stating their own positions. By taking radical action of this kind they hope they will have some effect on other people—if only to make them ask questions about their motives. But if people ask questions, it is important that they ask the right questions and that implicit in the protest should be some answers.

For these reasons the question of non-violence is central to the Harrington demonstration (in this connection we commend Alex Comfort's letter on page five). The demonstration will only have a worthwhile effect if people act out of love, since this is the only spirit which is totally opposed to the hatred which manifests itself in H-bombs and H-missiles. Once we accept this, non-violence is the only possible spirit in which to demonstrate.

## love and hatred

Love and hatred are, of course, not fashionable terms. They are normally dismissed as evidence of great sentimentality. There are, however, encouraging signs that both in social work and in psychology these words are being taken completely seriously (see Philip Seed's article in PN Oct. 9 and Erich Fromm's book "The Art of Loving"). One of the most important tasks for all those concerned with the development of non-violent action in the future is to see that the theory supporting it is intellectually sound.

The success of the Harrington demon-